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ABSTRACT

This review examines literature on the community's role in the achievement and psychosocial outcomes of disadvantaged students. It identifies three classes of factors as pertinent: community structure, community climate, and community involvement. Community characteristics were found to have only a weak effect on achievement at the individual level. Noise and household density were found to have an adverse effect on student behavior, however. Community involvement is described here as comprising four processes: mobilization, allocation of resources, academic improvement, and conversion, or turning a student around via a powerful message. This report includes many case studies of programs and descriptions of research on program effectiveness. The types of programs discussed include dropout and pregnancy prevention, projects that link students to various community institutions, and activities that engage students in pursuits that are constructive and enriching. Research is needed to help program developers address two tough challenges: identifying effective practices from among the scores that now exist, and fostering student participation in program activities. This report includes bibliographical references, a separate annotated bibliography on community support for disadvantaged students, and a directory describing programs mentioned in the body of the report. (DM)

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Annotated Bibliography by
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Report No. 8

July 1990

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CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON EFFECTIVE SCHOOLING FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

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The Center

The mission of the Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students (**CDS**) is to significantly improve the education of disadvantaged students at each level of schooling through new knowledge and practices produced by thorough scientific study and evaluation. The Center conducts its research in four program areas: The Early and Elementary Education Program, The Middle Grades and High Schools Program, the Language Minority Program, and the School, Family, and Community Connections Program.

The Early and Elementary Education Program

This program is working to develop, evaluate, and disseminate instructional programs capable of bringing disadvantaged students to high levels of achievement, particularly in the fundamental areas of reading, writing, and mathematics. The goal is to expand the range of effective alternatives which schools may use under Chapter 1 and other compensatory education funding and to study issues of direct relevance to federal, state, and local policy on education of disadvantaged students.

The Middle Grades and High Schools Program

This program is conducting research syntheses, survey analyses, and filed studies in middle and high schools. The three types of projects move from basic research to useful practice. Syntheses compile and analyze existing knowledge about effective education of disadvantaged students. Survey analyses identify and describe current programs, practices, and trends in middle and high schools, and allow studies of their effects. Field studies are conducted in collaboration with school staffs to develop and evaluated effective programs and practices.

The Language Minority Program

This program represents a collaborative effort. The University of California at Santa Barbara is focusing on the education of Mexican-American students in California and Texas; studies of dropout among children of immigrants are being conducted at Johns Hopkins, and evaluations of learning strategies in schools serving Navajo, Cherokee, and Lumdee Indians are being conducted by the University of Northern Arizona. The goal of the program is to identify, develop, and evaluate effective programs for disadvantaged Hispanic, American Indian, Southeast Asian, and other language minority children.

The School, Family, and Community Connections Program

This program is focusing on the key connections between schools and families and between schools and communities to build better educational programs for disadvantaged children and youth. Initial work is seeking to provide a research base concerning the most effective ways for schools to interact with and assist parents of disadvantaged students and interact with the community to produce effective community involvement.

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Abstract

This review discusses the effects of communities on students who face multiple impediments to success in schools. Research and descriptive literature is discussed within a framework that defines the community as an environment whose structure, culture, and involvement processes affect students' efforts to achieve and their levels of attainment. Although economic, physical, demographic, and other features are assumed to affect student outcomes, the findings suggest that the effects of community structure are mediated by cultural factors. Evaluations of programs that involve community actors indicate that anticipated positive effects on students sometimes occur, but there are negative outcomes as well. The conclusion identifies issues for research on natural and planned community processes.

Introduction

Communities have always played important roles in students' intellectual and psychosocial development, but in the last decade educators, youth advocates, and policymakers have called for increased community participation to solve the problems of educationally disadvantaged students. Numerous projects are underway, their existence heralded in the popular and professional literature.

However, optimism and involvement have not been matched by systematic efforts to understand these initiatives in the context of evidence on the community's impact on students. This gap in knowledge can be attributed to the isolation of disciplines, the focus on specific projects rather than general components, and lack of interest stemming from beliefs that community effects are weak or unmeasurable. This paper provides a needed synthesis of findings from evaluations of community involvement projects, basic research, case studies, and other descriptive data.

In this paper the term "educationally disadvantaged" is applied to students who face multiple impediments to success in school. Poor African American and poor Hispanic students comprise the bulk of those considered to be "at-risk" of negative educational outcomes such as illiteracy and school dropout.

Natriello, McDill, and Pallas (1990) estimate that in 1988, 25 million of the nation's 63.6 million children under age 18 were educationally disadvantaged when any one of five risk factors (race/ethnicity, poverty, family structure, language background, and mother's education) were used. They project that the number of educationally disadvantaged children will increase substantially by the year 2020, when the number of impoverished children alone will be 16.5 million, a 33% increase over the 12.4 million children in poverty in 1987.

The review presents a conceptual framework followed by discussions of the role of mobilization in eliciting the involvement of community entities, the allocation of resources as a major involvement process, and instruction in academic subjects as it occurs in community settings. A final section considers directions for future research.

The Conceptual Framework

The framework integrates three separate lines of research. The first assesses *community competence*, which refers to the capacity of a community and the agents within it to solve problems and meet the demands of daily life (Barbarin, 1981). Communities that function well are in some respects the counterparts of effective schools. Competent communities are characterized by such features as responsiveness to the diverse needs of members, maximized use of resources, cohesiveness and a collective sense of well-being, physical security, and opportunities for individuals to achieve status and receive recognition for accomplishments. These and other characteristics can be defined as one of three components of community, namely:

(1) community structure, which embraces physical features, social area characteristics, and other aspects of the community's resources;

(2) community culture or climate, which is defined by values, standards, and rules; and

(3) community processes such as problem solving and allocation of resources (Hurley, Barbarin, & Mitchell, 1981).

The second line of research evaluates the influence of *educational environments* on student development--how the structure, social climate and processes of classrooms, schools, dormitories, families, and other institutional settings affect student performance, aspirations, attitudes toward school, delinquency, and other behavioral and cognitive outcomes (Astin, 1968; G. D. Gottfredson, 1984; Moos, 1979). In Moos' (1979) model, students' cognitive, motivational and coping mechanisms link the environmental system (i.e., structure and climate dimensions) and the student's personal system (i.e, sociodemographic characteristics, personality and skills) to changes in student values, interests, aspirations, and achievement levels.

The third line of research explores the role of student *investment behavior* as a link between community arrangements and functions and the achievement-related behavior of low-income

students (S. R. Murray & C. A. Murray, 1979; S. R. Murray et al., 1980; Nettles, 1989).

Business leaders, advocates, and others who seek to upgrade the prospects for disadvantaged students often use the investment metaphor to convey the idea that youths make deliberate, reasoned decisions to engage in activities that will bring the greatest return for the effort: If the return is viewed as negligible, or if opportunities to invest in legitimate pursuits are minimal, youths are likely to invest in activities that are harmful, illegal, or otherwise constraining.

According to this metaphor, the involvement of community actors can channel student efforts toward legitimate aims, provide support for sustained efforts, remove impediments that block investments, and provide feedback on progress.

Figure 1 shows the present framework. The community is an environment characterized by three measurable features: structure, culture or climate, and the involvement process. *Community structure* refers to the nature and organization of the social units and physical features within the community's boundaries. *Community climate* consists of the values, norms, and rules that serve to maintain community order and control, to promote extensive social interaction among community members, and to facilitate individual community members' growth and progress. *Community involvement* is defined as the actions that individuals and groups undertake either directly to foster student development or indirectly to improve or reform institutions that serve youth.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

This conception of community differs from others by focusing on student characteristics and outcomes, rather than the organization and maintenance of the community itself. The framework encompasses the two most common meanings of community. One refers to community as a locality, such as the neighborhood, the city, the block, or the catchment area of a school. The other meaning views community as the social interactions that occur in formal and informal settings within and across locales (see Heller, 1990 and Newmann & Oliver, 1969 for discussions of these meanings and their implications).

The remainder of this section dicusses the three defining characteristics of communities and the practical and theoretical relation among them, and identifies some of the ways in which these characteristics affect student factors.

Community Structure

Four dimensions of community structure recur in the literature as important targets of involvement or as factors affecting student outcomes: the educational resource base, history, social area characteristics, and the physical setting.

Educational Resources. Educational resources include the financial, material, natural, institutional, and human assets in the community--schools, youth-serving organizations, day care centers, scholarship programs, social services, historic sites, churches, businesses, families, and others. Disadvantaged students either lack access to available resources or lack resources in their homes, neighborhoods, or schools. Enhancing the resources available to students and their schools is therefore one of the most typical ends of community involvement, although the type and level of resources in communities can constrain or facilitate the extent to which entities engage in action on behalf of students.

History. A second dimension of community structure is the community's history on issues pertinent to schools and youth. Although some social analysts view historical patterns of disadvantage as irrelevant to solutions of current problems, historical analysis is an important instrument in community practice and research. History often provides a rationale for changes in policy.

The Children's Defense Fund, for example, annually publishes the *Children's Defense Budget*, a compendium of data on changes in indicators of children's health, education, and economic circumstances; the corresponding trends in federal and state expenditures; and implications for government's role in addressing adverse conditions. Community practitioners who attempt to intervene in a setting routinely obtain a history of local support for education, conflicts among the varied constituencies, and other issues (see Nowakowski and associates, 1985, for a set of indicators for the historical analysis of communities in educational evaluations of school/community relations).

Although case studies (e. g., Fainstein & Fainstein, 1974 and LaNoue & Smith, 1973) document patterns over time in community involvement regarding such issues as school governance, welfare, and civil rights, research that assesses the effects of community structural factors on student progress has focused mostly on social area characteristics and the community's physical features, such as buildings, homes, streets, and the distances between them.

Social area characteristics. Most disadvantaged students live in neighborhoods characterized by high proportions of welfare-dependent households, school dropouts, male unemployment, substance abuse, or crime. One assumption underlying community involvement is that something about the neighborhood or neighbors themselves influences youthful residents to perform poorly in school and engage in delinquency, drug use, and other high-risk behaviors. To counteract the negative influences, institutions and individuals that represent constructive, law-abiding interests should step forward and play an active role in the lives of youth or contribute to the enrichment of the neighborhood itself. The research on neighborhood effects reveals that neighborhoods make a difference but not in the straightforward ways that popular assumptions imply (Mayer & Jencks, 1989).

One assumption, for example, is that youths who live in disorganized neighborhoods are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior than their counterparts who live in areas that are less disorganized. D. C. Gottfredson, McNeill, and G. D. Gottfredson (in press), explored the roles of two community factors, community disorganization and affluence/education, and student SES on self-reported delinquency (interpersonal aggression, drug use, and theft and vandalism); social bonding (student attachment to parents and parental supervision, attachment and commitment to school, belief in conventional rules, and involvement in constructive after-school and leisure activity); and negative peer influence. The sample included students in ten middle or junior high schools located in four cities. The sample was composed predominantly of minorities (71% African American and 2% Hispanic).

Community disorganization was defined by the items used commonly in descriptions of the "underclass:" high male unemployment, high proportions of female-headed households, and high proportions of households on welfare. The factor called "affluence and education" was defined by several dimensions indicative of high socioeconomic status (for example, a high proportion of employed females). Parental education served as the measure of *individual* socioeconomic level.

Community disorganization had no effect on male theft, vandalism, and aggressive crime after the effects of race, age, and social class were controlled, but males in *disorganized* areas reported less involvement in drugs regardless of background. In contrast, females in disorganized neighborhoods engaged in aggressive crime more often than their counterparts in less disorganized areas. This effect remained after background factors were controlled, but other forms of delinquency in females were not related to neighborhood disorganization. In disorganized neighborhoods, females and males alike reported that they were negatively influenced by peers and less attached and committed to school.

Area affluence had no effect on female delinquency, but males who lived in affluent neighborhoods reported more criminal behavior than males who lived in areas of low socioeconomic status. In short, the effects of community characteristics on individuals were not large.

Physical settings. The adequacy and arrangement of buildings and streets in the community, the layout and decoration of interior spaces, crowding, noise levels, and other aspects of the physical environment can affect student development (Astin, 1968; Moos, 1979; Scott-Jones, 1984; Shade, 1986; Wohlwill & vanVliet, 1985).

Wohlwill and Heft (1977), for example, found that young children who lived in noisier homes performed more poorly on a visual search task than children who lived in quieter homes. When distracted with an auditory stimulus, however, the performance of children from quiet homes was impaired to a greater extent than the performance of the other children. These relationships were obtained when the effects of income and child's age were partialled out.

Saegert (1980, cited in Aiello, Thompson, & Baum, 1985) examined the effects of residential crowding on low-income elementary school children in New York City. The children lived in public housing. All but 2% of the sample of 312 children were minority (nearly a quarter was Hispanic and the remainder, African American).

Analyses of teacher ratings and student interviews indicated that residential density had a substantial impact on the children. Children who lived in crowded apartments reported more frequently than their counterparts in less crowded households that other people distracted them while they were doing homework. Also, teachers rated children who lived in higher density apartments as being more hyperactive and anxious than their peers who lived in less dense conditions. Children who lived in dense high-rise buildings reported that they felt less guilty about engaging in vandalism and other antisocial activities than their counterparts in less dense low-rise buildings.

Crowding may also affect parental behaviors and home arrangements that, in turn, influence student development. Gove and Hughes (1983)

interviewed one adult in each of 2,035 Chicago households randomly selected from census tracts that varied by crowding and socioeconomic status. In crowded households, students had no place to study and nowhere to go for privacy. Parents in these households knew neither the parents of their children's friends nor their children's friends. These parents also tended to punish their children and offer little support. These relationships were obtained with education, sex, ethnicity, marital status, and age statistically controlled.

Little research has explored implications of different physical arrangements for community interventions with disadvantaged students. One study suggests that the behaviors students exhibit in learning environments differ from setting to setting. Grannis (1983, cited in Schoggen, 1989) used the Setting and Behavior Instrument to observe high school students who were participants in a program for disadvantaged youths interested in health-related careers. Over a two-year period the investigator observed the students in two types of settings: field sites for experiential learning (for example, a laboratory) and classrooms where students received instruction. In classroom settings, students participated in discussions more frequently than they did in their field sites. In the field sites, the students exhibited greater independence and initiative than they did in classrooms.

Community Culture

Although reliable instruments have been used to study the social culture or climate (norms, rules, values) of classrooms, college campuses, work settings, treatment programs, and families, the community (or neighborhood) culture has been explored largely through ethnographic studies (see for example, Lightfoot, 1978; Anderson, 1976).

These studies, combined with pertinent conceptual frameworks, may be useful starting points for operationalizing cultural elements and developing diagnostic and research tools. For example, Ogbu's (1985) cultural-ecological model of inner-city childrearing and development specifies competencies that African Americans in the inner-city expect children to acquire and the cultural factors that shape the type and content of such competencies.

One such competency is mutual exchange, which is based on the well-documented norm of reciprocity that exists in poor, urban neighborhoods (see Weis, 1985 for a discussion of how mutual exchange networks can impede the educational progress of inner-city women). Other competencies that Ogbu cited include conventional employment, clientship, hustling, pimping, entertainment, and collective struggle. All of these competencies are necessary for survival in neighborhoods whose economy embraces conventional and "street" or "underground" forces.

Community Involvement

Community involvement consists of the actions that organizations and individuals take to promote student development. In the present framework, community involvement provides opportunities for students to use their personal resources of time, energy, and money in ways that will enhance self-esteem, commitment to schooling, sense of personal control, and other cognitive variables related to achievement, prosocial behavior, and other desired outcomes for youth. Regardless of the degree to which students interact with community entities, students are linked to the community via their perceptions of the climate and their own attributes.

Community involvement is typically described in terms of specific roles that the various community actors play in supporting students (cf. Children's Defense Fund, 1986; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1989; W.T. Grant Foundation, 1989; Constable & Wahlberg, 1988). The role of parents and family has received considerable attention (Epstein, 1987; Epstein & Scott-Jones, 1989; Scott-Jones, 1984; Slaughter & Epps, 1987; Tangri & Moles, 1987) as have partnerships of schools and other entities, such as universities and businesses (see Bossone & Polishook, 1989; Oakes, 1987). Malcolm (1984) in a national search identified 96 programs to increase the participation of minorities in science and mathematics education. Many of these programs involved consortial arrangements among various entities.

Nettles (1989) conceptualized these varied forms of involvement as a set of four basic processes, three of which--mobilization, distribution of resources, and instruction--are considered in the following sections. The fourth is conversion ("turning a kid around") which refers to the process of bringing the student from one belief or behavioral stance to another. The literature is sprinkled with anecdotes about students who suddenly began to achieve or who ceased to behave in destructive ways as the result of exposure to a powerful message or charismatic person. But systematic research on this phenomenon with disadvantaged students is rare.

Mobilizing for Change

Community organizers, parent outreach workers in schools, youth advocates, and others who work to increase citizen and organizational participation have accumulated extensive practical knowledge on ways to set and keep involvement in motion. This know-how is reflected in three sources:

(1) in general guides for community action (Alinsky, 1971),

(2) in handbooks that suggest highly specific actions to link schools and students with other entities in the community (see for examples, Asche, 1989; Bain & Herman, 1989; Merenda, 1986; Otterbourg, 1986), and

(3) in case studies of partnerships between schools and community entities such as businesses, social service agencies, universities, cultural institutions, and community-based organizations (see for examples, Gross, 1988; Williams, 1989).

Such partnerships often originate in the efforts of unusually determined, resourceful, or charismatic persons. In 1975, Jesse Jackson initiated and led a national crusade to involve parents, businesses, students, school staff, and other segments of local communities in the pursuit of excellence in education. The crusade eventually led to the PUSH for Excellence Project (PUSH-EXCEL), a three-year Federally-funded demonstration. The evaluation (S. R. Murray et al., 1982) documented the extensive grass-roots organizing that preceded the demonstration projects in Chicago, Kansas City, Chattanooga, and Denver as well as the results of the project's efforts to develop a stable, active base of citizen support and a menu of school and community-based activities to produce improvements in student attendance, academic motivation, sense of responsibility, grades, and test scores.

PUSH-EXCEL encountered many difficulties in its efforts to transform the vision of its founder into concrete applications: Throughout the demonstration period ambiguity over new roles and responsibilities, fluctuations over time in the level of resources that partners were willing to provide, and conflicts about institutional turf were sources of concern for project managers.

Case studies of other partnerships (see for examples, Levine & Trachtman, 1988; Pine & Keane, 1989) indicate that the problems PUSH-EXCEL experienced are common in school/community alliances. These difficulties can undermine collaboration unless the implementation process includes mechanisms to foster the relationship between partners. In a review of urban school/community alliances, Ascher (1988) cited as critical features in sustaining partnerships "...commitment, egalitarian decision-making, a sense of ownership by participants at all levels, clarity about roles, clarity and flexibility about both methods and goals, an ability to bridge different institutional cultures, training, and patience concerning the collaborative process itself" (p. 14). She concluded that the principles of forming and maintaining successful collaboratives are similar across types of partnerships.

Community leaders and organizers are usually associated with mobilization projects, but increasingly schools are engaging in outreach to parents and others in the community. Case studies indicate that effective African American urban schools mobilize support through school practices that structure opportunities for participation (Irvine, 1988).

Guidelines for Mobilization

How-to guides, lists of practical suggestions, and survey findings can be good starting points in efforts to mobilize, but experienced practitioners know that these tools must be tailored to meet the requirements of specific situations. Action research (Lewin, 1948) can identify the variations in community actions and settings that influence the outcomes of mobilization. For example, Rothman, Erlich, and Teresa (1976) conducted a six-year study that attempted to validate empirically principles of social intervention. Using findings from an extensive review of research, these investigators formulated four action guidelines.

(1) Practitioners wishing to promote an innovation in a general target system should develop it initially in a partial segment of that target system (p. 25).

(2) Practitioners wishing to change an organization's goals may approach this problem by altering the structure of influence within the organization by either (a)--increasing the power of those groups within the organization that hold goals compatible with the practitioner's, or (b)--introducing new groups

into the organization that hold goals compatible with the practitioner's (p. 61):

(3) Practitioners wishing to foster participation in organizations, voluntary associations, or task groups should provide (or increase) appropriate benefits (p. 99).

(4) Practitioners can increase their effectiveness by defining a relevant role (or role aspect) and clearly specifying this role or role aspect and fostering mutual agreement among relevant superordinates concerning it (p. 136).

The findings on which the guidelines were based were further translated into log forms composed of questions and checklists that were used by informant field researchers, to plan and record their own experiences in organizing to achieve specific goals.

For example, the third guideline was field-tested in a set of projects that included, among others, one to prevent the loss of volunteers in an after-school program and another to increase the number of African American students who actively participated in the African American student association at a junior high school. The log forms instructed practitioners to specify the type of participatory behavior that was to be addressed; to select and provide to participants instrumental benefits (such as goods, information, or access to other forms of needed assistance or material aid) or expressive benefits (such as public recognition and opportunities for social interaction); and to list the factors that might facilitate or limit attainment of project goals. The outcome of implementation was rated on a five-point continuum. Sixteen of eighteen attempts at implementation resulted in attainment of project goals.

The results of the field tests of all the guidelines were incorporated in a manual (Rothman, Erlich, & Teresa, 1976; 1981) that offers specific tactics that practitioners can apply in their own work. In Fisher's (1982) view, the resulting planning manual is "...a unique example of a beneficial step toward developing a science of community practice that is both systematic and relevant" (p. 417).

Allocating Resources

Once mobilization is underway, community action can be directed toward other ends. One target is the elimination of the disadvantage that students suffer due to limited access to available resources or to inadequate levels of resources.

Court battles to end school segregation were among the first of many community actions to reallocate educational resources. Three landmark cases were *Mendez v. Westminster School District* (1945), *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* (1948), and *Brown v. the Board of Education* (1954). The first two cases were on behalf of Mexican American students and the latter, African American students.

Citizen participation in determining the use of local school resources was promoted widely in the wake of urban riots of the late 1960s, when black protest movements sought local control of neighborhood employment, schools, and social services as a mechanism for reversing the failure of inner-city schools to prepare students to take advantage of new opportunities (Bloomburg, 1971). Forms of participation ranged from parent-community councils, which can make decisions cooperatively with schools, to the short-lived attempts at community control of local schools in New York City, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. (Berube & Gittell, 1969; Fantini, Gittell, & Magat, 1970).

Studies of these efforts to increase community participation in decision making concluded that community involvement was insubstantial, even illusory or of a token nature (Crain, 1968; Gittell & Hollander, 1968; Tucker & Zeigler, 1980), although there is evidence that low-income, minority and welfare interests achieved some recognition (LaNoue & Smith, 1973). A study of 66 school systems enrolling 50,000 or more students, found universal community participation in the form of advisory input but no community control (Ornstein, 1983).

Although the recent decentralization of Chicago's public schools (see Clinchy, 1989 for a description of the plan) has sparked a resurgence of interest in community control, the targets of involvement are increasingly numerous and diverse. For example, Louisiana oilman Patrick Taylor successfully campaigned for his state legislature to enact a law that provides for the state to pay tuition subsidies for any student who meets certain criteria (Lacey, 1990). Involvement efforts also focus on (1) removing barriers to student use of new and existing resources, (2) changing the incentive structure, and (3) providing social support for students. The rest of this section discusses these targets.

Improving Students' Access to Services and Opportunities

Several conditions associated with poverty impede the physical, social, and intellectual development of disadvantaged students. From 1982 to 1985, the number of children who had no private health insurance increased from 9.6 to 11.1 million (in 1985, approximately 19% of all children). Over three fourths of these children were from families whose incomes were below 200% of the Federal poverty level, and one-third were from families whose incomes were below the poverty line (Children's Defense Fund, 1988).

Among younger low-income children, an estimated 10.9 to 23.6% showed the effects of poor nutrition, as measured by retarded growth in height (Jaynes & Williams, 1989), and among nonwhite children, immunization rates have fallen since 1976. This state of affairs puts large numbers of children at risk of infectious diseases and complications from them (Children's Defense Fund, 1988; Jaynes & Williams, 1989).

Among disadvantaged adolescents, there are increased health risks (and the associated needs for health and social services) due to the relatively high incidence of pregnancy and childbearing, substance abuse, and sexually transmitted diseases (Gibbs, 1989; Staggers, 1989; U.S. General Accounting Office, 1988).

School-based Services. Attempts to address these problems through community-based intervention that provides school-based services include national programs such as Head Start, which provides health and social services to all participants, and demonstration programs such as Cities in Schools (CIS), which provided academic support and social services to low-income, inner city adolescents organized in groups of 40 called "Families." Each Family was staffed by a team of four caseworkers, including an educator, a youth worker, a social service specialist, and a programmatic specialist.

In the three cities in which the CIS demonstration program operated from 1978-1981 (Atlanta, Indianapolis, and New York), nearly 60% of the staff was "outstationed" to the participating schools from agencies such as the Boys Club, the Department of Parks and Recreation, and Family and Children's Services. CIS asserted that caseworkers in the school would link students and needed services more effectively than prevailing (agency-based) models and thereby reduce some of the barriers to academic progress in school and constructive use of time after school.

The concurrent evaluation (C. A. Murray, Bourque & Mileff, 1981) verified that a high incidence of students had one or more severe emotional, economic, or academic problems that could be addressed by social services in the community. However, caseworkers in the schools provided the preponderance of services (educational, counseling and enrichment activities) rather than securing needed external services.

In 1988 the state of New Jersey initiated the School Based Youth Services Program (SBYSP), wherein services are available at one site in or near the school. In its first year the program operated in 29 sites at a cost of $6 million. Each site provided seven kinds of services: employment, health, mental health, information and referral, family counseling, substance abuse programs, and recreation. Sixty-five percent of the programs provided family planning, 62% provided transportation, and 44% each provided day care and a twenty-four hour hotline.

The state contracted with agencies in the community to manage the program: The initial contracts were awarded to schools, non-profit agencies, city and county agencies, the Urban League, the Private Industry Council, and a community development organization. Local advisory boards, which provide oversight, consisted of parents, teenagers, and representatives from schools, business, and service agencies (Kean, 1989; State of New Jersey, n.d.).

School-based clinics represent another approach to serving adolescents' needs. As of Spring 1989, according to a survey conducted by the Center for Population Options (cited in Kirby, Waszak, & Ziegler, 1989), 90 providers were operating 150 clinics in 32 states and 91 communities. The majority (59%) of students who used the clinics were African American, 25% were white, and 12% were Hispanic. The clinics provided a variety of medical, counseling, educational, reproductive, and family planning services and were typically found in low-income areas. Program operators included community health clinics, nonprofit organizations, hospitals, medical schools, departments of public health, and school systems.

Studies of the effectiveness of school-based services have provided mixed findings. Some strong, early evidence of effectiveness came from the evaluation of the Self Center, a clinic located in Baltimore near a junior and a senior high school that had high proportions of African American, low-income students (Zabin, Hirsch, Smith, Street, & Hardy, 1986). The Center was operated for three school years and was staffed with a social worker and a nurse practitioner or nurse-midwife.

In the school, the staff provided sexuality and contraceptive education and was available for counseling in the school health suite. In the center, which was open in the afternoon, students received counseling and medical and reproductive health services.

The evaluation assessed changes over time in students' sexual behavior, contraception, pregnancy rates, and knowledge and attitudes about reproductive issues. The investigators used data from school archives and from surveys conducted in the two project schools and in two control schools. Young women who attended the school concurrently with the three years of program implementation initiated sexual intercourse a median length of seven months later than those who attended the school prior to program implementation. In program schools, as compared to control schools, there were reductions in rates of unprotected intercourse and pregnancy.

It is difficult to identity aspects of the program that were critical in producing impact: The study assessed schoolwide impact rather than outcomes for students that actually used the clinic, the school's regular sex education program remained in place for the duration of the program, and students' access to and use of other providers was not determined.

Kirby and associates (1989) recently examined six school-based clinics to evaluate utilization patterns and impact on risk-taking and pregnancy. The clinics were located in six cities: Gary, Indiana; Jackson, Mississippi; Muskegan, Michigan; Quincy, Florida; San Francisco, California; and West Dallas, Texas. With the exception of one school in which there were African American, Asian, and Hispanic students, African American students were predominant in the schools' populations.

The investigators collected longitudinal data in two sites where the clinics opened after the evaluation began. In the remaining sites, schools that did not have clinics but were comparable in other respects to sites in the study were used as comparisons. The study used a student survey, school archival data and interviews with clinic staff members to collect data on clinic services and impact. The student samples ranged from 24% to 90% of the total school enrollments.

Each clinic provided a wide array of services; virtually all provided contraceptive counseling, first aid, referrals, examinations, lab tests, and nutrition education. Use of the clinics in a single year ranged from 60 to 80% of the student body in four of the six sites; in the remaining two about 25% of the students used the clinics. The clinic with the highest utilization rate was the most established of the sites, had the largest staff, and contacted each student annually to make an appointment for a health exam.

Across sites, students who used the clinics did so infrequently: Half of the students visited three or fewer times in one year. Students reported that they had access to other services and continued to use them. Among the most frequent users (who had eight or more visits), high proportions were African American and female, and came from poor families (as measured by receipt of food stamps) with absent fathers.

The clinics had no impact on schoolwide pregnancy and birth rates. At two of the sites, significantly greater proportions of students in clinic than non-clinic schools reported using contraceptives at last intercourse. Four of the sites made contraceptives available to students by dispensing them or providing vouchers that students could use at another source. In these sites, students who elected to use the clinics for contraception were more likely to have used contraceptives at last intercourse than students who did not use the clinic for this service.

Alcohol consumption and cigarette smoking were measured in four sites. Students in three of them reported lower alcohol consumption and in one of four sites, lower cigarette smoking than students in non-clinic schools.

On the basis of the study findings and the judgments of a panel of expert practitioners, the investigators recommended that clinics undertake vigorous outreach, especially to sexually active students; dispense or prescribe contraceptives; increase the permanent staff; and engage the support of other community entities in the implementation of approaches to delay sexual activity.

The researchers cautioned that "promoting change in adolescent health and risk-taking behaviors is a difficult and complex task. Given the myriad influences on youth, it is unreasonable to expect the presence of a school-based clinic alone to have a significant impact upon these behaviors, although these clinics often are touted as the panacea for many ills" (p. 74).

Establishing networks. An alternative to the school-based location of services is a network of schools and service providers in the community. Networks can be based on highly formal interagency agreements that stipulate the responsibilities of participating bureaucracies or on informal commitments to coordinate services, make

referrals, or to share information and other resources.

The handbook entitled *Linking Schools and Community Services* (Robinson & Mastry, 1989) describes ways to develop networks and other collaborative arrangements. It is based in part on an evaluation (Kopacsi, 1989) that tracked the formation of networks in two New Jersey middle schools, one rural and one urban. Although both schools had sizeable populations of low-income students, different outcomes for the two schools emerged in the process of establishing the network. The rural school identified fewer student and family needs than the urban school and had a lower agency response rate (60% of identified resources provided services for the rural school as compared to 97% for the urban school).

The schools encountered different organizational problems in attempts to collaborate with other agencies: The urban school was impeded by funding constraints and poor parental involvement whereas the rural school faced barriers to access (such as inflexible times and location of services and lack of agency services to families at home). The study documented eight mechanisms that linked resources in the network of both schools:

(1) project planning structures,
(2) the resource directory,
(3) education and prevention seminars and workshops,
(4) identification of providers in the resource network,
(5) on-site services for children and families,
(6) health fair,
(7) reinforcement of previous linkages, and
(8) structures for continuing linkages.

Improving Access to Jobs. Disadvantaged students often face multiple impediments to success in the labor market. Braddock and associates' analyses of data from a nationally representative sample of 4,078 employers indicated that African Americans face barriers such as limited access to social networks that serve as job recruitment channels and low employer evaluations of credentials earned in minority settings (Braddock, Crain, McPartland, & Dawkins, 1986; Braddock & McPartland, 1987).

Government and businesses have tried various strategies to improve minority students' access to jobs, and the roles of these two entities are documented extensively.

Mann (1987a, 1987b) examined business/school partnerships in 23 large cities and in a stratified random sample of 85 U.S. public school districts. Data were collected through telephone interviews with superintendents and other officials and through review of documents. Mann found that formal partnerships were concentrated in big cities and were useful in connecting urban schools and their predominantly low-income and minority populations to the business community, but competed with other interests (such as local youth organizations) for funds.

Walker (1984) discussed the lessons learned from large scale, federal initiatives of the 1970s, including the Youth Incentive Entitlement demonstration, which the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation managed and evaluated from 1978 to 1980. Over 80,000 low-income youths in 17 cities applied for work in jobs paying the minimum wage: In some cities, the employment rates of minority and white youth were equalized. Private businesses accounted for slightly over half of the work sponsors. Walker concluded that programs should address problems of access by "building substitutes for the informal channels available to most white youth"(p. 74) and to recognize that "underlying the 'youth employment' or 'Hispanic youth employment' problem are a variety of issues relating to different age groups, school status, and so on" (p. 74).

One of the most promising models for low-income youths still in school is the High School Academy. The Academy is a small school within a school, which combines academic instruction and support, enrichment activities, career development, social services, and employment. Typically the Academy is a collaborative venture between the public schools, a community-based agency or coalition, and local businesses. Evaluations of Academies in Portland, Philadelphia, and California have found that Academy students have lower dropout rates, higher rates of employment after graduation, and higher school achievement and attendance than students in comparison groups (Academy for Educational Development, 1989).

Enrichment Activities and Opportunities to Serve Others. Communities have long provided outlets for students to invest their resources of time and energy in constructive pursuits and thereby discover their interests and talents, interact with and learn from peers and supportive adults, and acquire or reinforce skills.

The research on participation in voluntary community activities and extracurricular activities at school by disadvantaged students provides limited evidence of positive academic and other outcomes. Trent and McPartland (1982) found that African American high school students' participation in extracurricular activities was related to sense of well-being; Winfield's (1988) study of literacy among African American young adults indicated

that participation in civic and political groups predicted high literacy proficiency. Reviews of the effects of extracurricular activities on students (see Holland & Andre, 1987; and Steinberg, Brown, Cider, Kaczmarek & Lazzaro, 1988) indicated that the relationship between positive outcomes and participation are strongest in low-income males and low-achieving males.

Programs for disadvantaged youth often feature an extensive menu of activities. The offerings of the "I Have a Future" project are illustrative. This is a project to prevent pregnancies among teenagers living in two Nashville public housing sites. The Meharry Medical College is implementing the program with funding from the Carnegie and W.T. Grant foundations and private donors. Moreover, the Nashville Metropolitan Development and Housing Agencies have provided staff support and space, and residents at the sites are involved through Resident Associations and the "I Have a Future" advisory board.

The program provides comprehensive health services at the sites as well as two different sets of social learning activities, one for preadolescents (youth aged 10-12) and the other for youth in early (ages 12-16) and mid (ages 17 and 18) adolescence. Examples of activities for the preadolescent group include CHARM (Choosing to Adorn and Refine Myself) Class, art classes, time management training, family life education, computer skills, and the Rites of Passage program. For older adolescents, the program features creative writing, peer tutoring, conflict resolution training, job readiness training, substance abuse education, peer counseling and an entrepreneurial program. An evaluation is underway. It is planned as a longitudinal study of the two program sites and two other public housing sites that are serving as controls ("I Have A Future", n.d.).

If students participate in the activities that community programs sponsor, they are likely to benefit. S. R. Murray and associates (1982) found that the level of participation in the activities of PUSH-EXCEL was positively related to certainty of graduating from high school, increased sense of personal control, heightened academic self-concept, and increased efforts to achieve future goals. Illustrative activities in the schools included student pledges, the parent-student concern organization, "Perfect Paper" auctions, and field trips.

Among the options most widely cited for linking youth to communities is volunteer service, as Newmann and Rutter's (1986) 1984 survey of 204 public and private high schools revealed. These investigators found that 27% of the schools had a community service program, and they estimated that some 900,000 students, or 7% of the total U.S. secondary enrollment in 1985, participated in the programs.

Thirty-nine percent of schools with substantial (50% or more) minority populations offered one or more community service programs, compared to 24% of schools with 49% or fewer minority students enrolled. Moreover, the schools with substantial minority enrollments were three times more likely to offer community service as an elective or to award academic credit.

Conrad and Hedin (1989) reviewed models for school-based community service as well as studies of program effects. The evidence consistently indicated that students who participated in varied programs showed gains in self-esteem, moral and ego development, and social and personal responsibility. Also, the students reported more positive attitudes toward the people they had served.

Changing the Incentive Structure

It is often assumed that the incentive structure for impoverished youth should be altered and that community actors can play a major role in creating and providing incentives, thereby encouraging students to invest in constructive pursuits. Two of the most widely cited examples of community involvement have attempted to provide incentives that will encourage disadvantaged students to graduate from high school and then either attend college or enter the workforce.

The first of these is "The Boston Compact," which was initiated in 1982 with a formal agreement wherein businesses, labor unions and the Boston city government would provide priority hiring of graduates of the public high schools. In return the school system would promote efforts to reduce dropout rates, increase attendance, and assure that graduates were competent in basic skills.

The Compact has served as a model for formal partnerships in other cities. It has expanded to include colleges and universities, an educational foundation which provides incentives such as grants to teachers and scholarship assistance to students, and an agreement from unions for an increased number of apprenticeships (Spring, 1989). However, Natriello and associates (1988) considered the program flawed in that the incentives were most appealing to the "best" students, that is, the students who were most likely to graduate anyway.

The second example is the "I Have A Dream" Foundation, which Eugene Lang established in 1981 with a spontaneous pledge to the sixth grade

graduating class of East Harlem's P.S. 121. Lang promised to pay the college costs of each student who finished high school. He subsequently provided the students with various supports to facilitate their efforts to complete school.

As of October 1989, the program had been replicated in 32 cities of 23 states, with funds provided by 132 sponsors for 9,000 students (J. M. Sesnick, personal communication, December 6, 1989). Typically, each sponsor pledges $300,000 for college costs and support services for caseloads, called "Dream Teams," of students who were selected as a class in elementary school. One of the cardinal features of the program is the provision of long-term, intensive instrumental, material, and emotional support for students. Project Coordinators work with Dream Teams from 5th or 6th grade until graduation from college ("I Have a Dream" Foundation, 1989).

Both of these programs guaranteed valuable long-term incentives for staying in school. In Boston, the incentives were not of sufficient power to reduce the school dropout rates (Hargroves, 1986); however, data on the original class of Dreamers from P.S. 121 indicate that 90% of the students have either obtained or were expecting to obtain high school or general equivalency diplomas. The expected rate was 75% ("I Have a Dream" Foundation, 1989).

Programs continually face the challenge of motivating youth to invest in the day-to-day tasks of being a student and becoming responsible, contributing members of the community. The literature contains many examples of the types of incentives that have been tried in this regard. Money is one. Bogart (1990) cited a practice at Denver's Children's Hospital, where teenaged girls who have had one pregnancy receive (over a two-year period) one dollar for every day that they are not pregnant.

Other material incentives are used frequently. One coordinator in the "I Have A Dream" program described a system whereby students could receive prizes (such as T shirts, calculators, and gift certificates) for points earned for progress in school (Lockwood, 1990). The chance to participate in a valued or prestigious activity can also be an incentive.

Providing Social Support

Informal helpers play important roles in many communities. In poor neighborhoods, interpersonal resources may serve as substitutes for or extensions of institutional services and supports (McAdoo 1980; Stack, 1974). Despite the apparent strength of naturally occurring support, evidence from a variety of sources suggests that disadvantaged students either have limited access to resourceful adult helpers, rely heavily on peers, have parents and other family members who lack social support, or are impeded by the demands of members of their social networks.

For example, a community survey conducted by AVANCE, a program that provides parent education and support to low-income Mexican-American women in San Antonio, found that parents had little knowledge about children's developmental needs, lacked job skills, had low aspirations, and were isolated (Halpern, 1990). Coates (1987), who examined the role of families and peers in 360 African American adolescents from lower- and middle-class families, found that slightly over a quarter of the females and one-fifth of the males identified family members as their only role models. Among males, 30% identified role models only among non-family members (i.e., peers, adults in the schools, and famous persons); the corresponding percentage for females was approximately 20%. Small minorities of the sample (1.9% of the females and 7.2% of the males) identified no role models.

In programs for disadvantaged students, social support can occur informally, in the context of relationships that are structured chiefly to provide academic, psychological, social or other services. In the evaluation of six school-based clinics cited above, 43 to 63% of the students who used the clinics cited the staff's caring as one of the five most important reasons for using the clinics (Kirby et al. , 1989). However, support that occurs as a byproduct of another component can be unpredictable, episodic, and untargeted. Planned support that provides for sustained, goal-directed relationships typically takes one of four forms: home visiting, peer counseling, mentoring, or coordination.

Home visiting. Home visiting is a feature of community-based early intervention wherein lay or professional helpers visit the home of expectant mothers and mothers with very young children. The helpers provide support in the mothers' efforts to solve problems; become competent parents; obtain educational, health, and social services for themselves and their children; and promote healthy pre- and post-natal development.

This form of support was used in the Resource Mother Home Visit Program (Unger and Wandersman, 1985). In this program, 87 pregnant, low-income adolescent mothers were randomly assigned to the visited (70 mothers) or to the comparison (17 mothers) group. Resource

Mothers provided emotional support, information, and instrumental and material assistance to the visited group (through monthly home visits during the pregnancy and throughout the baby's first year). Resource Mothers phoned participants in the comparison group every three months to check on the progress of mothers and babies and to provide referrals.

At eight months postpartum, a higher proportion of mothers in the visited group remained in school than their counterparts in the comparison group. Also, the babies of visited mothers had higher birth weights. These and other generally positive results have been found in other evaluations of community-based early intervention (see Halpern, 1990, for a review).

Peer Counseling. Peer counseling builds on the trust and influence that often characterize helping relationships among child and adolescent peers. For example, The Natural Helpers Program taps the existing, informal network of students who help other students in school. The informal helpers (identified through a survey) are trained by staff from the school and community agencies in helping skills such as problem solving and referral. The trained helpers then choose roles that suit their interests and skills. Such roles can include, among others, involvement in special projects, assisting school staff, and helping other students receive social services (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1983). The "I Have a Future" Program, described above, uses peer counselors.

Mentoring. Mentoring is widely viewed as one of the most promising forms of support. It has been used in a number of programs. One of the most extensive efforts is Project RAISE in Baltimore. This comprehensive program for inner-city adolescents is funded by The Abell Foundation and the Caswell J. Caplan Charitable Income Trust. RAISE has seven sponsors--two churches, a college and a university, two businesses, and a fraternity.

Each of the sponsors pledged to work with one group of students from June 1988, when the students were in elementary school, until June 1995, when the students should graduate from high school. The sponsors are to provide tutoring and other activities to boost academic performance. Also, the sponsors are to identify adults who will volunteer to serve as mentors, match mentors with RAISE students, and provide a structure for developing and maintaining the matches. The mentor's role is to help the student with academic subjects, to serve as a role model for personal success and responsibility, and to provide attention and concern (Nettles & McPartland, 1989).

In their review of analyses of the literature on mentoring for disadvantaged and at-risk youth, Flaxman and associates (1988) conclude that mentoring can be a useful but modest approach for addressing the needs of these students. However, there should be clear and limited goals for what the relationship is to achieve; the mentors must be able to empathize with the students, accurately assess their needs, and apply appropriate resources in a steady, building sequence to achieve the goals. Further, the goals must be within the mentors' capacity to attain with students. If other changes, such as institutional ones outside the mentor's control, must occur first, then the probability of successful mentoring is lessened considerably.

Program Coordination. Program coordination, (sometimes called casework, case management, or simply counseling), provides services in the context of a close personal tie between the provider and the student. This type of relationship is not to be confused with casework as the term is applied in the social service agency, wherein extremely heavy caseloads may preclude frequent, personalized contacts with clients. Program coordinators work with the same group of students over a specified period of time and provide a set of services that can include assessing students' needs for academic and social services, identifying and brokering services, monitoring students' participation in programs and in school, visiting students' homes and helping parents with their concerns, and counseling students.

Each of the institutional sponsors of Project RAISE, for example, selected a program coordinator (PC) who is responsible for approximately 60 students. The PC is based in the school that the majority of the students attend, or in an office close to the school. On a typical day, the PC greets students at the school door, then checks each student's attendance and follows up with calls to the home or other measures when the student is absent. During the day, the PC may attend a meeting of a school team if the needs of a RAISE student are on the agenda, or arrange for services for a number of students. After school, the PC and volunteers conduct tutoring or other activities. Program coordinators play similar roles in the "I Have A Dream" programs.

As in mentoring, program coordination may work best when the role is structured around a series of well-defined tasks that will lead to specific actions that the student will perform or that will help the student achieve other ends. The Cities in Schools evaluation found that casework in the program was most successful when caseworkers:

were charged with this kind of specific, goal-oriented task. Rather than a diffuse charge to determine the student's needs and respond to them, the Caseworker had a concrete mandate. In such cases, the Caseworker had something to do, on which it was reasonable to get some closure.

> The specificity of the task facilitated the student's response. To do the things necessary to improve a grade-point average, the student had to make a global change in his stance toward school. But to attend tutoring sessions or get a physical examination called for a more limited compliance with the Caseworker's request, and this much seemed to be possible (C. A. Murray et al. 1981, p. 98).

"The Social Skills Curriculum for Inner City Children," a collaborative effort between the New Haven public schools, the Baldwin and King elementary schools, and the Yale Child Study Center, pioneered a process to provide supportive relationships for children within the school. In the two New Haven schools which began the project in 1968, the School Advisory Committee worked with the Steering Committee, Mental Health Team, and Administrative Team to examine school problems; identify resources; and plan, implement, and assess programs to develop staff and skills and solve specific school problems. According to the program's designer, James Comer:

> A school response that recognizes different or troubling student behavior as social underdevelopment or development appropriate for another setting, and recognizes low achievement as reflective of cognitive underdevelopment and establishes programs to develop children in a way that they can be successful in school could eliminate the struggle for power and limit or reverse the downhill social and academic performance of many students who have had pre-school experiences that did not adequately prepare them for school. A school which recognizes that it must develop a program which enables staff and other people important to youngsters to interact with them more intimately over a longer period of time in order to help them learn to cope with the complexities of the modern world could do the same for all students (Comer, 1980, p. 38-39).

The Negative Effects of Support. This model and other programs to provide social support to disadvantaged students have received widespread attention as models that show the benefits of natural and planned support. However, optimism needs to be tempered by the recognition that research has identified some negative outcomes of social support models (Shumaker & Brownell, 1984).

The results of the Cambridge-Summerville Youth Project provide an example. Dr. Richard Clark Cabot initiated the Cambridge-Summerville Youth Project in Massachusetts in 1935 in an effort to curb delinquency. The police, churches, schools and social service agencies recommended boys ages 5 through 13 for participation in the project. Boys considered to be "average" and "difficult" were identified and paired according to delinquency prediction scores and personal and home background. One member of each pair was assigned to the control group and the other to the treatment which began in 1939. For approximately five years, the project arranged for academic and medical services as needed, linked the boys to youth and other community organizations, and sent one quarter to summer camp. Twice a month, counselors visited the boys' families (Powers & Witmer, 1951).

In 1975 McCord (1978) traced the whereabouts of 506 men who had participated in the treatment and control groups. Of the 480 who were located, 48 had died. Questionnaires were sent to the remainder (208 in the treatment and 202 in the control) and data from Massachusetts archives were examined for the 340 men still living in the state.

The men in the treatment group rated the program very positively, but the analyses indicated that the program had no impact on delinquency. Moreover, the participants in the treatment group, compared to controls, tended to 1) show more signs of mental illness, 2) have had at least one stress-related disease, 3) be in low prestige occupations, 4) show signs of alcoholism, and 5) commit a second crime. There were no statistically significant differences between the treatment and control groups on 49 other comparisons.

Subsequent analyses (McCord, 1981) indicated that participants who had particularly long, early, or frequent contact with the counselors showed the strongest adverse impact. After testing several interpretations of the effects (for example, that the program increased dependency) the investigator concluded that the program "seems to have raised the expectations of its clients without also providing the means for increasing satisfactions. The resulting disillusionment seems to have contributed to the probability of having an undesirable outcome" (p. 405).

Instructional Programs in Community Settings

Studies of language socialization and the parental role as teacher indicate that social interactions in the home and the wider community are important contexts in which children learn emergent literacy skills, self-regulation of cognitive and other tasks, and other skills and behaviors needed for performance in schools and in daily communication (Gundlach, Farr, & Cook-Gumperz, 1989; Heath, 1989; Scott-Jones, 1984, 1989).

Churches play a major instructional role through their programs of religious and moral education, and voluntary associations offer unique opportunities for learning. Other organized community efforts to foster academic performance provide additional resources and support for learning and stimulating students' desire to achieve in school and in other settings.

The Majestic Eagles, Inc., a membership organization, provides services to minority business and aspiring entrepreneurs. With six of his friends, John Raye founded the organization in 1983. The Majestic Eagles is based in Washington, DC, but it has chapters in the Midwest and along the Eastern Seaboard. The organization sponsors youth Training Clubs that provide opportunities for students to learn financial planning and entrepreneurial skills (Green & Pryde, 1990).

In Baltimore, the Society of Executive Retired Volunteers (S.E.R.V.), an affiliate of the National Executive Service Corps, recruited, trained, and placed retired scientists and engineers in public high schools. The volunteers perform a variety of functions including tutoring, consulting with teachers, and assisting students who are developing projects for science fairs (Drury, personal communication, September 14, 1989).

Program models

In 1986, the Congress of National Black Churches began Project SPIRIT, a pilot program in five African American churches in Atlanta, Indianapolis, and Oakland. The project is funded by a grant from the Carnegie Foundation and features academic tutoring, instruction in life skills, and morale building (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1987-88).

The National Council of La Raza is implementing the Innovative Education Project through Hispanic community-based organizations in Kansas City, Chicago, and Houston (Orum, 1988). The Project is designed to address the academic and non-academic needs of low-income Hispanic students and their families. Five different models will be demonstrated.

One example is the Academia del Pueblo, which features summer and after-school academies. Teachers and cross-age tutors are to instruct elementary school children in reading and language arts, mathematics, and other skills. Parents are to contract to attend at least half of the monthly activities in the parent education component; to read (or be read to by) the child; and to monitor homework and other school-related efforts that the child makes. Other program models serve youth in middle or junior high schools, youth who have left school, parents, and teachers of Hispanic students.

The organizations implementing the projects also offer services needed by low-income parents with limited proficiency in English, including health services, food and clothing in emergencies, and day care. Evaluations of both the Innovative Education Project and Project SPIRIT are underway.

The Project on Adolescent Literacy's national search for successful literacy programs for young adolescents (Davidson & Koppenhaver, 1988) found in-school and summer programs, and also documented in case histories programs that community-based organizations were implementing for children disadvantaged by poverty or limited proficiency in English.

The Highline Indian Tutoring Program in Seattle is illustrative. This program provides two hours of tutoring per week to children in grades one through six. The sessions are conducted after school in two different centers, one in an elementary school and the other in a former school building. The program includes pre- and post-testing on the California Achievement Test, highly structured tutoring sessions, and parent involvement. The tutors, who are volunteers from high schools and colleges, are trained extensively, receiving eight hours of instruction in methods and program procedures and two hours of training in Indian culture. The program is sponsored by a comprehensive agency, the Highline Indian Education Office, and is considered a program of Seattle's Highline School District.

Research on program effectiveness

In their assessment of the potential of community-based, after-school literacy programs, Davidson and Koppenhaver of the Project on Adolescent Literacy (1988) commented that measures of success for these programs differ from the

standards used in school programs: "Schools must attend to group objectives and standards, but after-school programs are free to focus intensively on individual goals. After-school programs deem themselves successful when they can engage a young person on a continuing basis, promote success in some area of learning, excite interest in some aspect of reading or writing, and help the individual to see that literacy does have a place in his or her future" (p. 132). These authors recommend the use of qualitative measures of success that use as evidence such sources as attendance records, student journals, and structured observations and interviews.

Some efforts, however, assess the potential of community-based tutoring and other achievement-related projects as approaches for improving performance in schools. Mehran & White (1988) examined the effects that parent tutoring in reading had on first grade children identified for Chapter I compensatory education programs. Seventy-six kindergarten children were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. The following summer, mothers of the 38 children in the experimental group were trained in techniques for teaching various skills such as decoding words and blending sounds. Parents were asked to tutor their children three times a week, 15 minutes per session, from August through April. The parents also could attend follow-up meetings during the school year and were instructed to keep detailed logs of the frequency and results of their tutoring.

The results highlighted the importance of assessing level of participation in voluntary programs. Substantial gains on several criteria were obtained for children whose mothers participated extensively at home.

Other findings come from evaluations of comprehensive programs with a wide range of anticipated effects. The Cities in Schools evaluation (C. A. Murray et al., 1981) found that the program effectively increased student attendance and sense of personal control, but produced negligible gains in grades and test scores. After one year of operation, Project RAISE decreased absences and retentions among RAISE students, with especially dramatic reductions occurring among some groups of participants (Nettles & McPartland, 1989).

The Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA) is evaluating the effects of its Partners for Valued Youth Program. This program is designed to reduce the dropout rate among Hispanic middle school children with limited proficiency in English. During the 1988-89 school year, the program's first year in operation, 95 seventh grade students in San Antonio participated. The students receive training in tutoring and are then assigned to tutor students in elementary school. The students are paid for their work and also participate in field trips and other activities to develop support for the students through strong connections between the home, the school and the community.

Results from the assessment of the first year indicated that tutors had better reading grades than students in the comparison groups, although there were no significant differences in English and mathematics achievement. The comparison group received higher scores on the Texas Educational Assessment of Minimum Skills (TEAMS), but the program students showed higher self-concept and more positive attitudes toward school on the Quality of School Life (QSL) scale (Supik, 1989).

Turkel and Abramsen (1986) found a similar pattern of results in their evaluation of a semester-long program in which college students served in the combined roles of mentor and tutor for potential dropouts who were ninth graders in New York City. The number of meetings between mentors and mentees ranged from four to ten with an average of 6.5. The meetings were 60 to 70 minutes long and took place during or after school and at the university on Saturdays. During the meetings, mentors provided academic tutoring but the mentors reported that discussions of social, personal, and school concerns were the focus of 60% of the meetings.

Compared to a group of potential dropouts, the mentees had more positive attitudes toward school (as measured by the QSL scale), but there were no significant differences between the groups in attendance, reading scores, and grades.

Conclusions

This review examined literature on the community's role in the achievement and psychosocial outcomes of disadvantaged students. The organizing framework identified three broad classes of factors as pertinent, namely: community structure, community climate, and community involvement.

Although economic, demographic, and other structural characteristics are assumed to affect student outcomes, only weak effects are found for social area characteristics at the individual level. Factors related to the physical environment, specifically noise and household density, produced adverse impacts on student behaviors.

Overall, the findings suggested that the effects of community structure are mediated by the norms, rules, and values that govern social relationships in the community. These factors, defined in the model as community culture, have not been explored through the application of reliable measures in varied settings.

Community involvement is the rubric applied to actions that citizens and institutions undertake either directly to foster student development or indirectly to affect institutions in service to youth. Four processes were defined. Many "how-to" guides address the first process, mobilization, but research that tests relevant practices is rare. Allocation of resources, the second process, includes a variety of citizens' actions to alter structural characteristics of the community, particularly the educational resource base. The third process refers to the community's role in affecting academic outcomes. The fourth process--conversion, or "turning" the student around via a powerful message--is the least explored of the processes.

The dominant view of involvement that emerges from the literature on the allocation of resources and the community role in affecting academic outcomes is one of structured, discrete, and time-limited sets of activities funded by private interests. The projects fall under many rubrics, including prevention (e.g., dropout prevention and adolescent pregnancy prevention), methods of service delivery (e.g., school-based clinics), and strategies for solving specific problems. However, behind the labels or practical theories of the nature of the problems facing disadvantaged youth are an amalgam of generic components whose content and structure varies from project to project. Thus projects include some form of social support from adults or peers who volunteer or are part of the paid staff; mechanisms for providing instruction to enhance or extend what students are learning in schools; methods for linking students to various community institutions, including the social welfare services of local government; structures for citizen input in the planning or implementation of the project; and activities to engage students in pursuits that are constructive, legal, enriching, and sometimes fun.

Research is needed to help program developers address two tough challenges: identify effective practices from among the scores that now exist, and foster student participation in program activities. Studies to increase participation levels, for example, might focus on structuring incentives that are appropriate in terms of the students' developmental level, abilities, and interests; that are inexpensive; and that do not undermine program goals or community and family norms, values, or resources.

Absent from the literature are many issues of potential relevance to policy and practice. Several are suggested by the conceptual framework used here to organize this review. For example: Does planned involvement facilitate or impede naturally-occurring community processes? What is the nature of informal instruction in local businesses, churches, settlement houses, and youth organizations? Can planned support improve informal practices? How does community climate affect student participation in programs and the level of community organizing on behalf of students?

In the best of circumstances, research takes a back seat to practice. Students' needs for support and service are great and the resources to meet them scarce. Investigators can contribute to improved practice by distilling what is already known about social support, community organization, and other components of social interventions; using opportunities within existing programs for the implementation of ambitious action research designs; and contributing to the outcomes of involvement through periodic participation as observers and participants in programs and in the wider community.

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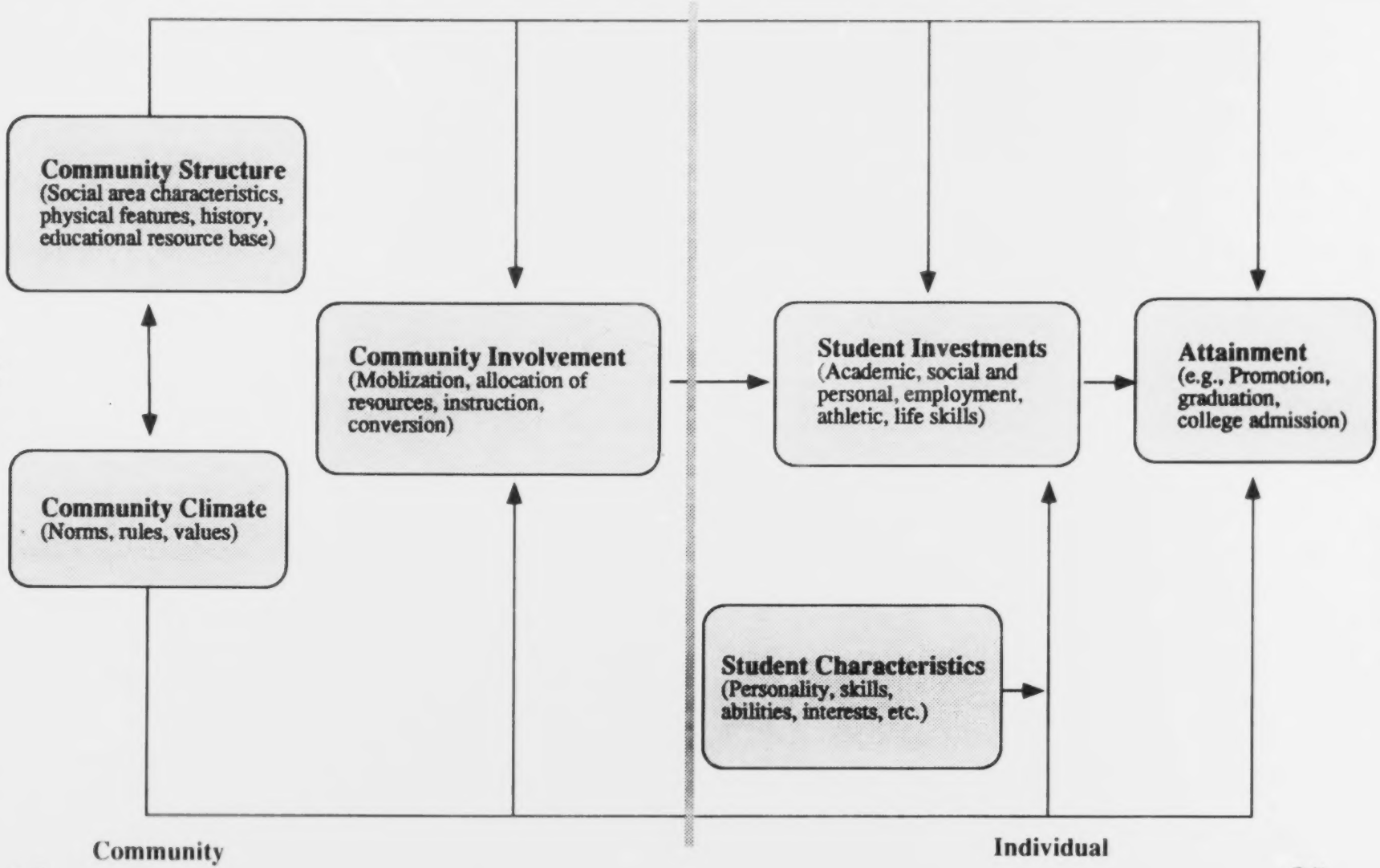
Figure 1

A Framework for Examining Community Involvement and Student Progress



Annotated Bibliography:
Community Support for Disadvantaged Students

Brenda Greenberg

I. PROGRAM COMPENDIA, REVIEWS OF RESEARCH, AND BACKGROUND READINGS

A. Academic Support and Mentoring

Bogart, K. (1990). *Solutions that work. Identification and elimination of barriers to the participation of female and minority students in academic educational programs. A resource directory.* Washington, DC: The National Educational Association.

Recognizes that women and minorities continue to be underrepresented in careers in the humanities, social sciences, mathematics, science, and technology. Examines barriers to participation in academic educational programs and presents solutions that work according to teachers, counselors, school administrators, and parents.

Black girls and schools-A directory of strategies and programs for furthering the academic performance and persistence rate of black females K-12. (1987). Manhattan, KS: Kansas State University.

Shares results of research on the educational experiences of black females from kindergarten through high school, recognizing the unique barriers these students face. Notes characteristics of successful strategies to better their educational life. Includes a directory of programs targeted specifically toward assisting black females.

Calderón, Margarita. (1990). *Cooperative learning for limited English proficient students.* (Report No. 3). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students.

Describes cooperative learning strategies and the research on which they are based. Explains the advantages of using cooperative learning with limited English proficiency students. Outlines the components of effective implementation of cooperative learning.

Clark, R. M. (1988). *Critical factors in why disadvantaged students succeed or fail in school.* New York: Academy for Educational Development.

Recognizes that there are some students who, despite coming from backgrounds that would be considered "disadvantaged," are able to overcome their backgrounds and achieve success in school and the work world. Pinpoints the critical factors that determine this mobility.

The Consortium for Research on Black Adolescence. (1990). *Black adolescence: Current issues and annotated bibliography.* Boston, MA: Author.

Covers various issues as they relate to black adolescents including: psychosocial development, mental health, drug abuse, suicide, schooling, employment, and family relationships. Explains the growing interest in black adolescents due to the increase in this population and the social and economic costs of the problems experienced by black adolescents and their families. Includes summaries, annotated references, and other references for each separate issue.

Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review, 56, 18-36.*

Analyzes why past attempts at educational reform, such as compensatory and bilingual education have been largely unsuccessful. Encourages personal redefinitions in the way teachers re-

late to minority children and their communities. Provides a framework designed to "empower" students by incorporating their primary language and cultural background into the school program and promoting minority community participation.

Education that works: An action plan for the education of minorities. (1990). Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Quality Education for Minorities Project.

Addresses the educational needs of Alaska Native, American Indian, Black, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican people of the United States. Focuses on these five groups because of their history of under education. Highlights national goals and action plans for the year 2000.

Flaxman, E., Ascher, C., & Harrington, C. (1988). *Youth mentoring: Programs and practices.* New York: Columbia University Teacher's College.

A comprehensive investigation of current mentoring knowledge aimed at administrators, practitioners, parents, and community members who are interested in developing effective programs for at-risk students. Emphasizes that the effectiveness of a mentoring program depends on its place among other interventions and its ability to meet specific goals. Considers programs in existence, experience in businesses and in organizations, recorded evaluations, and educational and psychological theory.

Gundlach, R., Farr, M., & Cook-Gumperz, J. (1989). *Writing and reading in the community.* Berkeley, CA: Center For the Study of Writing.

Emphasizes that learning to read and write does not only take place within the confines of the school building. Notes the influence of families, neighbors, and members of one's cultural group on a student's linguistic skills. Advocates teachers' "ethnosensitivity" to students whose linguistic features of their "home languages" differ from the linguistic and literacy demands of the school. Stresses the necessity of school instruction in writing and reading to prepare students for the tasks they will eventually face in the workplace.

Hispanic Policy Development Project. (1984). *Make something happen: Hispanics and urban high school reform. Volume II. Report of the National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics.* New York: Author.

Provides a comparative, demographic picture of the United States Hispanic population. Addresses the problem of Hispanic youth who are not reaching their potential in the United States. Shows that, for many students, school becomes irrelevant without tangible connections with the work world and the opportunity to earn money while going to school. Advocates that businesses and public service communities adopt a school and help meet employment and training needs of the students.

Jibrell, S. (1989, Spring). Increasing participation of minority and female students in science and math. *Academy News,* 2-3.

Reviews findings which indicate the poor quality of science and math education in our country and its devastating effect on minorities and females. States the plan of the Urban Schools Science and Math Program to alleviate this problem in Atlanta, Cleveland, and Detroit. Highlights the roles of the Ford Motor Company and the Academy for Educational Development.

Jones, R. L. (Ed.). (1989). *Black Adolescents.* Berkeley, CA: Cobb & Henry Publishers.

A volume dedicated to providing an overview of contemporary black adolescents and the racial, economic, and environmental forces that shape this critical period in their lives. The importance of this volume is made apparent by the 1980 Census data showing that more blacks are unemployed, in the juvenile justice system, involved with drugs, having babies out-of wedlock, and committing suicide than was the case 25 years earlier. Concentration is primarily on urban adolescents; however, chapters dealing with blacks in predominantly white suburbs and rural areas are included as well.

Malcolm, S. (1984). *Equity and excellence: Compatible goals. An assessment of programs that facilitate increased access and achievement of females and minorities in K-12 mathematics and science education.* Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Acknowledges the shortage of American Indians, Blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, the disabled, and/or women in the fields of science and engineering. Describes pre-college programs designed to reverse this trend. Lists the needs and success rates for each group. Suggests actions that the federal and local governments, schools, businesses, and program directors should take.

National Urban Coalition. (1988). *Say yes to a youngster's future by increasing access to science, mathematics and technology.* Washington, DC: Author.

Reports on the campaign by the National Urban Coalition to increase involvement of minorities and females in science, mathematics, and technology. Describes research findings upon which the Say Yes to a Youngster's Future program is based. Records the efforts of community leaders to establish family math classes, learning centers, and "Say Yes" schools.

Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (1988). *Library literacy program: Analysis of funded projects.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Describes the substantial role libraries can play in helping to fight illiteracy. Provides an overview of the LSCA Title VI Library Literacy Program that has produced more sophisticated literacy projects. Investigates the marketing strategies, tutorial programs, networking and coalition-building that successful libraries have adapted.

Rauch, S. J., & Sanacore, J. (Eds.) (1985). *Handbook for the volunteer tutor.* Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

A guidebook providing suggestions for tutors of elementary and secondary school students who need extra help in reading. Covers effective teaching techniques and gives necessary background information. Successful volunteer programs are described. The reader will also find a comprehensive list of materials for the volunteer tutor, as well as further references.

Schools that work. (1988). Pueblo, CO: U.S. Department of Education.

Profiles schools that are doing an exceptional job in educating students who are disadvantaged. Discusses the role that principals, teachers, parents, and government officials can play in ensuring a quality education for all children.

Wilbur, J. (1989). Three keys to a structured mentoring system. *Mentoring International, 3*(3), 32-36.

Four structured mentoring models for use with at-risk students are described and the common threads (structure, measurability, proven results) are identified. Problems common to mentor-

ing programs, such as recruitment, training, and retention of mentors are also covered in this paper.

B. Community Action

Bain, G., & Herman, J. L. (1989). *Improving opportunities for underachieving minority students: A planning guide for community action.* Los Angeles, CA: Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing.

Offers guidelines for developing a coalition to improve the educational experience of at-risk minority students. Expresses the belief that the entire community must be involved in bringing about positive changes to the school. Includes a sample timeline and planning worksheets that can be used for evaluating strategies and recording progress.

Burghart, S. (1983). *Organizing for community action.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

A comprehensive guide that familiarizes the reader with techniques of grass-roots organizing. Designed for human services workers new to organizing and people who are turning to organizing who wish to be more effective. This book presents strategies differing from those of the 1960s. Emphasizes the importance of style and the ways in which a group is organized.

Citizens Planning and Housing Association. (1989). *Take this school and love it!. Parent, Student and Citizen Self-Help Manual.* Baltimore, MD: Author.

A manual providing useful information to parents, students, and citizens. Lists important phone numbers and dates, in addition to informing parents, students, and other community members of their rights and how they can get involved in schools. Blank lines are provided throughout the manual so that one can keep track of individual students' schedules, teachers, and tests.

Cuyahoga Community College. (1987). *Educating black children: The Cleveland agenda.* Cleveland: Joint Center for Applied Research and Urban Education.

On June 5-6, 1987 a conference was held at Cuyahoga Community College to discuss issues relating to the educational crisis among black children and to develop strategies to combat their feeling of hopelessness. This conference was the first one of its kind initiated by a local community. This document contains proceedings from the meeting.

Litwak, E., Meyer, H. & Mickelson, C. (1974). *School, family, and neighborhood.* New York: Columbia University Press.

This book will be of interest to both the social scientist and the social practitioner, as it takes both a theoretical and pragmatic approach to the subject of school-community relations. Describes various linking mechanisms a school can use to reach the community.

Hastings, W.M. (1979). *How to think about social problems: A primer for citizens.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Introduces basic techniques for the study of social problems. Draws from the fields of sociology, psychology, economics, and related disciplines. Obstacles to clear thinking, such as misleading statistics and biases in the news, are also given attention.

Rothman, J., Erlich, J., & Teresa, J. (1981). *Changing organizations and community programs.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Outlines strategies for influencing social services and solving community welfare problems. Assumes that change takes place gradually in a series of incremental steps. Considers how one can promote new programs, change the goals of an organization, increase participation in groups or organizations, and increase effectiveness in role performance.

C. School and Community Partnerships

Coming of age in New Jersey: Today's adolescents face new and complex problems. (1988). Trenton, NJ: State of New Jersey Department of Human Services.

Cites statistics on the problems that teenagers face today. Recognizes the difficulties in educating students with such problems as drug abuse and early pregnancy. Describes the attempt on the part of the Department of Human Services to help New Jersey's troubled youth through the School-Based Youth Services Program.

The forgotten half. Pathways to success for America's youth and young families. (1988). Washington, DC: William T. Grant Foundation.

Brings attention to the "forgotten half", young people aged 16-24 who do not go to college and, therefore, find great difficulty establishing themselves in an increasingly complex, technological society. Expresses the belief that all young people, regardless of their background, want to succeed in life and have talents that, under the right circumstances, can be developed. Describes steps that parents and communities can take to help young people achieve.

Linking schools and community services: A practical guide. (1989). New Brunswick,NJ: Rutgers University Center for Community Education.

A comprehensive manual written for those who wish to improve student access to community social services. This guidebook describes how partnerships between schools and community services can be created and maintained. Common questions about such partnerships are answered and sample letters and surveys are provided.

Linking schools and community services. Resource directory. (1989). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Center for Community Education.

This resource guide assists readers who wish to learn about various resources available to them in different cities and provides them with addresses so they can obtain further information. Organizations are listed by topics, which include adolescent pregnancy, substance abuse, and homelessness.

National Association of Partners in Education, Inc. *Handbook for Principals and Teachers.* (1989). Alexandria, VA: Author.

Addresses the issue of volunteerism in the schools. Deals exclusively with the training of teachers and other school staff. Provides ten workshop models. The final section includes a resource list and references.

Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (1989). *Education partnerships in public elementary and secondary schools*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Presents results of a survey on the scope of school-community partnerships in 1987-1988. Such information as the number of education partnerships, the way in which they were initiated, and means of support are included.

Pink, W.T. & Borman, K.M. (1986). Building community-school programs in two cities. *The Urban Review, 18* (2), 105-116.

Discusses the feasibility of community-school programs in Cincinnati, Ohio and Kansas City, Missouri. Provides details of a variety of ways in which the community can contribute to school improvement in the areas of service, instruction, and policy-making. Explores the development of three kinds of community-based groups that will encourage a democratic administration of schools and increase the schools' resources.

Southern Regional Council. (1989) *Doing better in the middle grades*. Atlanta, GA:Author.

Follows the Southern Regional Council's plan to help disadvantaged students by bringing together school and community leaders to carry out the "Doing Better in the Middle Grades Project". Profiles the six community organizations that were selected to participate. Discusses the goals and results of each organization's efforts.

Tetelman, E.H. (1987). The school-based youth services program. Trying to give teens a boost in life. *NJEA Review*, 12-14.

Explains the long-term benefits that can be derived from prevention programs for adolescents. Describes the effort in New Jersey to establish the country's first statewide, school-based comprehensive service program for teens. Includes application requirements for the 30 grants awarded to public and non-profit organizations willing to provide comprehensive health, employment, and human services programs.

D. Prevention Programs

Funders' guide manual. A guide to prevention programs in human services: Focuses on children and adolescents. (1988). St. Paul, Minn: Amherst H.Wilder Foundation Prevention Planning Project.

Analyzes what makes certain prevention programs effective, based on current research literature, for the benefit of program funders, board members, planners, administrators, as well as others interested in prevention programs. Addresses prevention programs in the areas of child abuse and neglect, school difficulties, teen pregnancy, and teen substance abuse. A list of key contact people and organizations involved in the field of prevention are included with their areas of specialty.

Poinsett, A. (1988). *Young black males in jeopardy: Risk factors and intervention strategies*. New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Maintains that homicide, suicide, and drug abuse are claiming a disproportionate number of adolescent black males. Shares the ideas presented at a meeting held at the Carnegie Corporation on February 11, 1988. Advocates broad family support policies, such as child

care, education, and training programs which enable families to remain together and function effectively.

1. Drug Prevention

Arresting the demand for drugs: Police and school partnerships to prevent drug abuse. (1987). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

A report designed for police officers and other law enforcement officials, school personnel, and others interested in the prevention of substance abuse. Recognizes the need to not only halt the supply of drugs, but also the demand. Describes two of the most effective police and school partnerships, Project DARE and Project SPECDA, which seek to reach children in their last year of elementary school so they will have the ability to avoid the peer pressure of junior high. Encourages the use of these programs as models for replication for the entire country.

Drug prevention curricula. A guide to selection and implementation. (1988).Washington, DC: Office of Educational Research and Improvement/U.S. Department of Education.

Reports on current thinking about drug prevention education. Discusses what school-based drug prevention education must include in order to be effective. Outlines structured format for lessons by grade level. Provides addresses of federal agencies and other resources.

Prevention plus: Involving schools, parents, and the community in alcohol and drug education. (1983). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

A resource guide that presents a comprehensive approach to the prevention of drug and alcohol abuse. Starts with a section of questions and answers about the subject and defines basic terms. Provides details of curricula, programs for parents and other community members, and prevention policies. Concludes with model risk reduction programs and prevention ideas.

2. Dropout Prevention

Children's Defense Fund. (1987). *Opportunities for prevention: Building after-school and summer programs for young adolescents.* Washington, DC: Author.

This report, geared to those interested in the design of effective community programs for 10 to 15-year olds, elaborates on how such programs can meet the various needs of this age group in the after-school, vacation, and summer hours. Factors that limit participation in these programs are also discussed.

Commonwealth futures: A commonwealth youth investment strategy. Boston, MA: Commonwealth Futures.

Addresses the problem of high-school dropouts. Argues the case for using Massachusetts as a test site for implementing a state-wide dropout prevention and re-entry plan. Describes the goals of Commonwealth Futures, a long-term project designed to remedy the problem in the Commonwealth state.

Natriello, G., Pallas, A., McDill, E., McPartland, J., & Royster, D. (1988). *An examination of the assumptions and evidence for alternative dropout prevention programs in high school.* (Report No. 365). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Center for Social Organization of Schools.

Develops a typology of high school dropout prevention programs which includes success in school, positive relationships in school, relevance of schoolwork, and outside influences. Suggests possible approaches to prevention for each category. Reviews existing programs and their effectiveness in each category.

Owens, T. & Griswald, M. (1988). *Leadership dropout prevention project*. Portland, OR: Northwest Regional Education Laboratory.

Provides an analysis of the Leadership Dropout Prevention Project which sought to bring about an organizational change that would prevent students from dropping out of school, allow them to fulfill their leadership potential, and provide support such as transportation. As a result of the program, at-risk students were offered teacher assistant and hall monitor positions which were previously only given to students doing well in school. Also, community volunteers such as lawyers, former school dropouts, employment coordinators, and Navy ROTC recruiting officers were brought in to talk to the students.

3. Teen Pregnancy Prevention

Children's Defense Fund. (1988). *Adolescent and young adult fathers: Problems and solutions*. Washington, DC: Author.

Presents information about the subject of young fathers. Asserts that these fathers need to accept responsibility for their children, but they should be helped to do so. Includes a sample of various programs for young fathers across the country. A list of newsletters and videos on the topic is also provided.

Children's Defense Fund. (1987). *Adolescent pregnancy: An anatomy of a social problem in search of comprehensive solutions*. Washington, DC: Author.

Shows how people in various professions or in different institutions can use their unique abilities or resources to help solve the teen pregnancy problem. Reasons why this issue should concern everyone are listed and a summary of CDF's efforts in this area is also provided.

Children's Defense Fund. (1986). *Building health programs for teenagers*. Washington, DC: Author.

Accentuates the key role that health providers can play in helping teens delay parenthood, providing good prenatal care to pregnant teens, and in helping them get the health care they need for themselves and their children once they become parents. Assesses the health status and needs of children between 10 and 20 years of age, especially those who are poor. Describes the types of health services most appropriate to meeting those needs and reviews the adequacy of current health care.

Children's Defense Fund. (1987). *Child care: An essential service for teen parents*. Washington, DC: Author.

Stresses the need that teen parents have for adequate child care and its relation to whether these young parents remain in school. Describes components of the most successful programs. Notes the barriers to the creation of such programs and effective strategies for overcoming them.

Children's Defense Fund. (1987). *Child support and teen parents*. Washington, DC: Author.

Discusses the significance of paternity establishment and other child support services for the children of teen mothers. Suggests ways to increase and improve establishment of paternity and child support collections. Concludes with a summary of policy recommendations.

Children's Defense Fund. (1987). *Declining earnings of young men: Their relation to poverty, teen pregnancy, and family formation.* Washington, DC: Author.

Analyzes employment, earnings, marriage rates, incomes, and poverty rates of young workers based on the Current Population Survey. Explains how changes in the economy have made it more difficult for young workers to support families. Suggests possible strategies to make young families more self-sufficient.

Children's Defense Fund. (1986). *Model programs: Preventing adolescent pregnancy and building youth self-sufficiency.*

Describes a variety of effective programs designed to prevent adolescent pregnancy and build self-sufficiency. Addresses the need adolescents have not only for reproductive information and services, but also for the motivation to delay pregnancy.

Children's Defense Fund. (1986). *Preventing adolescent pregnancy: What schools can do.*

Investigates the role of the school in preventing teen pregnancy. Reviews the efforts of schools to give teens both the capacity and motivation to delay pregnancy. Presents data showing the link between lack of "life options" and early pregnancy.

Children's Defense Fund. (1986). *Preventing children having children. What you can do?*

Presents information on the problem of teen pregnancy and lists five steps an individual can take to help in prevention. Also includes a directory of national and local teenage pregnancy prevention resources.

Children's Defense Fund. (1988). *Teenage pregnancy: An advocate's guide to the numbers.*

A fairly technical report providing statistics on the teen pregnancy problem. Furnishes charts and tables in the hope that they will assist the advocate in making a convincing argument for the cause. Also defines commonly confused statistical terms.

Children's Defense Fund. (1987). *Teens in foster care: Preventing pregnancy and building self-sufficiency.*

Focuses on the special needs of teens in foster care who, it is noted, are at special risk for early parenthood. Presents results of a survey of child welfare agencies showing steps taken to prevent pregnancy and to help these teens work toward self-sufficiency.

Children's Defense Fund. (1986). *Welfare and teen pregnancy: What do we know? What do we do?*

Examines both the facts and myths connected with teenage pregnancy and welfare. Describes strategies for moving teen parents toward self-sufficiency. Argues that prevention is less costly than remediation.

McAnarney, E. R., & Shreider, C. (1984). *Identifying social and psychological antecedents of adolescent pregnancy: The contribution of research to concepts of prevention.* New York, New York: William T. Grant Foundation Publication.

This publication, aimed primarily at policy makers, researchers, and philanthropic organizations, discusses various factors leading to adolescent pregnancy and recommends possible topics for further research. Also, methodological problems that affect the results of past research are identified.

United States General Accounting Office. (1986). *Teenage pregnancy: 5,000 births a year but few tested programs. Briefing report to the Honorable John H. Chafee United States Senate.* Washington, DC: Author.

Assesses current and previous programs that address teen pregnancy. Evaluates the legislative proposals of Senator Chafee, proposal S. 938, and Senator Moynihan, S. 1194. Includes a bibliography of general, pregnancy prevention, and post-pregnancy programs.

E. Youth and Community Service

Conrad, D. and Hedin, D. (1987) *Youth service: A guidebook for developing and operating effective programs.* Washington, DC: Independent Sector.

This guidebook, written primarily for school systems and organizations, covers major issues facing individuals who wish to design and improve youth service programs. Ways in which young people can help meet social needs are demonstrated and models of various programs are provided. In addition, the basics of starting a program and keeping it running smoothly are discussed.

Conrad, D. and Hedin, D. (1989) *High school community service: A review of research and programs.* Madison, WI: National Center on Effective Secondary Schools.

Reports on the status of attempts to make community service an integral part of the education of high school students. Summarizes research on the impact of service. Suggests issues confronting policymakers and educational researchers. Concludes with a listing of publications and manuals on the organization of service programs.

Langton, S. and Miller, F.T. (1988). Youth Community Service: A new era for America's ethos of community service. *Equity and Choice, 4, 25-34.*

Follows the history of our nation's attitudes toward youth community service from the William James essay "The Moral Equivalent of War" to present-day legislative proposals calling for national youth service. Presents research indicating community service as a way of increasing self-esteem, social responsibility, and educational attainment. Suggests further research to determine the causal relationship between self-esteem and community service and what program elements must be present to effect the highest and most lasting levels of these positive attributes.

Mid-continent Regional Educational Laboratory. *What's noteworthy on rural schools and community development.* Kansas City, MO: Author.

Recognizes the unique strengths of rural schools and their strong ties to the community. Proposes methods of connecting rural schools with economic development. Emphasizes the need to make schoolwork relevant to the students. Shows examples of efforts, on behalf of the rural schools, to foster entrepreneurship.

National Council on the Aging at Work. (1987). *Perspectives on Aging*. Washington, DC: National Council on Aging.

Informs the reader of an after-school program in Washington, DC designed to match "latchkey" kids with senior citizens. Acknowledges the mutual benefits to be derived by both the seniors and the children in this kind of arrangement.

Newmann, F. M. & Rutter, R.A. (1986). A profile of high school community service programs, *Educational Leadership, 43*(4) 65-71.

Profiles schools offering community service programs. Shares results of a recent survey showing the distribution of high school composition. Indicates that 27 percent of schools offer some type of community service programs. Characterizes the types of programs in these schools. Lists the percentage of placements in various fields and institutions.

O'Neil, J.(Ed.) (1988). *Reaching out: school-based community service programs*. Washington, DC: National Crime Prevention Council.

Shows principals, administrators, counselors, School Board members, teachers, parents, and students how to establish and sustain a community service program. Profiles 33 existing programs throughout the country. Includes useful forms, contracts, and surveys for the use of nonprofit programs.

Schine, J. (1989). *Community service for adolescents : A background paper*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development.

Recommends community service as a way of addressing the relatively recent phenomenon of isolated, aimless youth that accompanied the transfer of our economy from one that was agrarian-based to one of technology and specialization. Discusses the unique characteristics of both school-based and community-based programs. Notes barriers to community service.

II. PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

The Door, New York, NY

Provides New York youths with services ranging from legal to social to psychiatric to nutrition. It also offers a canteen where they can work, a cafeteria, a medical center, an educational center, a vocational center, and a creative workshop. Requires participants to undergo a diagnostic process and a medical evaluation. At that point a treatment plan is formed. Contact: The Door, 618 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10011.

Educational Opportunity Program, Baltimore, MD

An experimental program designed to decrease the number of students from Baltimore's Lake Clifton/Eastern High School who will end up in poverty with low expectations. Operates under the assumption that students can't be what they can't see. A full-time coordinator matches up qualifying students with mentors who give students help with homework, encouragement and advice. Successful black attorneys assist students with filling out college applications and financial aid forms and hold workshops on interview skills. In addition, students are promised $5,000 scholarships if they stay in school and graduate. See: Lally, K. (1990). Chance of a Lifetime. Baltimore: *Sun Magazine, 7-13.*

The Friendly Place, Harlem, NY

A homey library/bookstore that encourages people of all ages to read. Providing a haven for young people, the Friendly Place sponsors after-school clubs featuring creative writing, arts, crafts, and comic books. In addition to providing a chance for the kids to be with their friends, it also lets them use their literary skills. Junior and high school age students comprise the Rap Club, a group which meets to talk about issues of importance to teenagers. These students are shown by the leader of the group that there are books that discuss these topics. See: Davidson, J. & Koppenhaver, D. (1988). *Adolescent literacy: What works and why*. New York: Garland.

Helpers Promoting Literacy Program

Encourages early adolescents to read aloud to young children and have both groups evaluate the books that were read. Provides teens with the opportunity to assume adult roles and try out new skills, in a way which connects classroom learning with "real world" experiences. Helpers learn in training sessions how to read aloud, hold the children's interest, and how to discuss the books with the children and help them understand what was read to them. The program currently operates in New York, Arizona, and Connecticut. See: Campbell, P., Schine, J., Theilheimer, R. & Angell, A. (1989). Reading, writing and reviewing: Helpers promoting literacy. *Equity and Choice, 5(3), 11-13.*

Helping Hands Project, Wake County, MI

Designed to increase the access of black males to educational opportunities. At risk students in grades 6 thru 8 in Wake County, Michigan are matched with black male educators who serve as Personal Models (PMs). Criteria for inclusion in this program include school failure and signs of potential. Educators meet with their Student Partners for twenty hours per month and receive an annual supplement of $1,000.00. See: *Urban Education Review*. (1988, June), 1.

Highline Indian Tutoring Program, Seattle, WA

Works with Native American students who are at high risk of failure in school. Students in grades 4-6 are accepted into the after-school program when it is shown that they score at least four months below grade level on the California Achievement Test. After receiving training in teaching methods and learning about the Indian culture, local high school and college students run the after-school tutoring program that emphasizes building self-esteem, along with improving their academic skills. What sets this program apart from the others is that differences in individual learning styles are recognized and the teaching is adapted accordingly. Whereas avoiding eye contact with the teacher is normally considered to be negative behavior, the program recognizes that many of the children have been taught by their culture that this is the proper way to respond to adults. See: Davidson, J. & Koppenhaver. (1988). *Adolescent literacy: What works and why*. New York: Garland.

"I Have a Dream Foundation," New York, NY

Established in 1981 by Eugene Lang, a businessman who, when addressing a graduating class of 61 East Harlem 6th graders, was inspired to make the inner city children's dreams a reality by promising them a college education if they did their part and stayed in school. Lang wanted his "Dreamers" to overcome the odds which indicate that 75% of the children in the city's poorest neighborhoods never finish high school. As of March of 1989, 90% of the Dreamers had either received or were expected to receive their high school diplomas or GED certification. Currently there are 125 sponsors across the country who adopt an elementary school class and support the students through college. Project coordinators maintain daily contact with students

and their families and arrange for the students to get exposure to cultural, academic, and recreational activities. Contact: "I Have a Dream" Foundation, 31 West 34th Street, New York, 10001)

I Have a Future, Nashville, TN

The "I Have a Future" program was developed by the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Meharry Medical College to address the problem of teen pregnancy. A team of physicians, psychologists, nurses, public health leaders, counselors, tutors, and volunteers from the community go directly to the municipal housing projects, where the program is located, to ensure the access of all teenagers to their services, which include comprehensive health services and organized social learning activities. Contact: Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Project, Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee.

Life Planning Kit, Washington, DC

The United Planning Organization, in conjunction with the Department of Human Services, has developed a packet for teens and parents to help young people with decision-making and planning for the future. Issues such as drugs, sex, pregnancy, and self-esteem are addressed in the "Bridging the Gap Magazine" which accompanies a film by the same name. Also included are "Sam's Story" -- a pamphlet about a young man who contracts gonorrhea -- a cassette tape of "Sam's Story," nutrition booklets specifically for boys or girls, Eating for Health, a pocket resume card that makes biographical information readily available, and a teen yellow pages directory of resources for DC teens. In addition, there is a structured guidebook for workshop leaders who use this packet. The "Bridging the Gap" film can be obtained from local libraries. Contact: United Planning Organization, 810 Potomac Avenue, S.E., Washington, DC 20003

Magic Me, Baltimore, MD

Established in 1980 by Kathy Levin, Magic Me seeks to increase the self-esteem of previously unmotivated middle grade students by engaging them in community service. Students meet with senior citizens in nursing homes and enrich their days with poetry, music, art and trips. Initial evaluations show that school attendance rates have markedly increased for students involved in this program. Contact: Magic Me, Inc., 611 Park Avenue, Baltimore, MD. 21201.

Montgomery Ward-Cabrini Green Tutoring Program

Students from the Cabrini Green Housing Project receive the attention necessary for success in school by employees of Montgomery Ward. Tutors utilize their management skills to structure their program -- monitoring attendance on the computer and holding workshops for parents, who are considered an integral part of the program. See: Davidson, J. & Koppenhaver. (1988). *Adolescent Literacy: What works and why*. New York: Garland.

Project 2000, Washington, DC

The desire to provide inner city elementary school students, the majority of whom are being raised in single-parent female headed households, with positive black male role models provided the impetus for Project 2000. Sponsored by Concerned Black Men, Inc., this program draws its members from CBM and the Howard University Undergraduate Assembly. The men regularly visit Stanton Elementary School in Southeast Washington to assist teachers with discipline, read stories to the children, help with homework, and go with them on field trips. In addition, they describe their occupations to the children and inform them of the education

needed to obtain them. Contact: Concerned Black Men, Inc., 301 G Street, S.W. Suite 702, Washington, D. C. 20024.

Project Aspire, Cincinnati, OH

In 1987 Procter & Gamble joined with Woodward High School in Cincinnati to develop this mentoring program, in which approximately 150 employees work one-on-one with students. Students involved with Project Aspire score a full grade higher than their peers. In addition, 96 percent of the participants were promoted to the next grade, compared to 42 percent of the non-participating students. See: *Education Daily*. (1990, March), 4.

Project DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education), Los Angeles, CA

A joint partnership between the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles Unified School District. Developed to encourage students in grades 5-7 to avoid using drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. Officers visit the schools and present a 17-session core curriculum. In addition, they provide formal training sessions for teachers and hold meetings for the parents in the evenings. Evaluations by the Evaluation and Training Institute (ETI) indicate that teachers and principals have embraced this program, which has succeeded in informing the students and helping them deal with peer pressure. Students' work habits and academic grades have also been shown to have improved. See: *Arresting the demand for drugs: Police and school partnerships to prevent drug abuse*. (1987). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Project OASES, Philadelphia, PA

A unique program designed for middle school students who have not responded well to the traditional school setting. Offers "hands-on" experience in the building trades. The goals are three-fold including: improving attendance, improving academic achievement, and developing a positive attitude. OASES students follow a modified schedule including: math, reading, language arts, physical education, and OASES lab in which students participate in projects that benefit the whole neighborhood, such as constructing nature trails, building handicapped access ramps and play areas for blind children. Contact: Occupational, Vocational, and Technical Education, Boggs Avenue Curriculum and Supervision Center, 850 Boggs Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15211.

Project SPECDA (A School Program to Educate and Control Drug Abuse), New York, New York

The New York City Police Department and Board of Education jointly established this 16-session curriculum which consists of weekly 45-minute classes in the schools taught by a police officer and a drug counselor. At the same time the police department has increased the number of arrests for drug sales and closed "smoke shops" within a two mile radius of the schools. See: *Arresting the demand for drugs: Police and school partnerships to prevent drug abuse*. (1987). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Project Spirit

Meets the needs of latch-key children and those in need of academic help in Oakland, Atlanta, and Indianapolis at fifteen black churches. Retired or active public school teachers and other professionals are recruited and trained to supervise children on their homework for three hours after every school day, build their morale, and instruct them in practical living skills. Parents are invited to attend a six-hour a week program adapted for black parents. In addition, there is an extensive pastoral counseling program that enables the clergy to deal better with family problems, such as communication between parents and children and pregnancy. Many of the 350 children enrolled in the pilot program have made significant improvements in their school-

work and behavior. See: Black churches: can they strengthen the family? (1987-1988). *Carnegie Quarterly*, 33(1), New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Scholarship Builder-Class of 2000, Baltimore, MD

The result of a partnership between Merrill Lynch and the National Urban League, this program began in 1989 and will continue for up to sixteen years. Two hundred and fifty first graders from inner-city schools throughout the country were selected to participate in the program. The selection process was designed to achieve ethnic and racial diversity, gender balance and a socioeconomic mix representative of the inner city population. Merrill Lynch will make an annual contribution of $2,000 per student to be invested in the Scholarship Builder Fund to pay for college or other advanced training. The National Urban League, in turn, provides all of the technical support and ensures periodic national press coverage. See: New scholarship program for the "class of 2000" announced by Merrill Lynch and Urban League. (nd). *New York Urban League, 204 W. 136th Street, New York, New York 10030.*

Science/Math Education Project, Washington, DC

A program that recruits volunteer scientists, mathematicians, and engineers to go into the classrooms and help spark the interest of students in math and science. Professionals are recruited to tutor, lecture, and mentor students in the public elementary and secondary schools. Their ability to show the students practical applications of what they are learning from the textbooks and share with them their enthusiasm for the subjects has proven to have a positive effect on attitudes. See: *Scientists in the classroom. One school district's experience with science and mathematics volunteers in elementary and secondary schools.* (1987). Washington, DC: Federal City Council.

Teen Progress. (Teen Parent Program for Economic Self-Sufficiency), New Jersey Department of Human Services.

1800 applicants for AFDC who are under 20 years of age find education and work-related activities through the TEEN Progress program which seeks to reduce the likelihood of long-term welfare dependency in Camden and Newark by a number of interventions. Young mothers are taught parenting and life skills and are expected to be involved in activities that will make them more economically self-sufficient. The mothers have responded that they are glad the government cares enough about them to give them "something to do" instead of just giving them the money to survive. In turn, the program encourages the welfare system to provide the support that will enable these young mothers to fulfill their obligations. In Newark, a group called (MOM'S) was established to support the mothers of these new mothers. See New Jersey Department of Human Services, 222 South Warren Street Trenton, N.J. 08625.

The Young Scholars Program, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH

Promotes blacks and other minority students who are interested in and prepared to go to college. Students are given year-round educational enrichment and personal support until their graduation from high school. Once admitted to the program, the students are guaranteed admission to Ohio State University, in addition to the financial aid needed to finance their education. Young scholars begin the program once they have completed the sixth grade. They are matched with college-educated professionals who serve as mentors and they participate in a summer institute at Ohio State that includes academic enrichment, career exploration, study skills, and personal development workshops. Contact: The Ohio State University, Office of Academic Affairs, 119 Independence Hall, 1923 Neil Avenue Mall, Columbus, OH 43210-1210.